OFFICIAL.

By the President of the United States of America. A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS the Constitution of the United States has ordained that the privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it; and whereas a rebellion was existing on the third day of March, 1863, which rebellion is still existing; and whereas by a statute which was approved on that day it was enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled that during the present insurrection the President of the United States, whenever in his judgment the public safety may require, is authorized to suspend the privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus in any case throughout the United States or any part thereof; and whereas in the judgment of the President the public safety does require that the privilege of the said writ shall now be suspended throughout the United States in the cases where, by the authority of the President of the United States, military, naval, and civil officers of the United States, or any of them, hold persons under their command or in their custody either as prisoners of war, spies, or aiders or abettors of the enemy, or officers, soldiers, or seamen enrolled or drafted or mustered or enlisted in or belonging to the land or naval forces of the United States, or as deserters therefrom, or otherwise amenable to military law or the Rules and Articles of War, or the rules or regulations prescribed for the military or naval services by authority of the President of the United States, or for resisting a draft, or for any other offence against the military or naval service : Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Presi-

dent of the United States, do hereby proclaim and make known to all whom it may concern, that the privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus is suspended throughout the United States in the several cases before mentioned, and that this suspension will continue throughout the duration of the said rebellion, or until this proclamation shall, by a subsequent one to be issued by the President of the United States, be modified or revoked. And I do hereby require all magistrates, attorneys, and other civil officers within the United States, and all officers and others in the military and naval services of the United States, to take distinct notice of this suspension, and to give it full effect, and all citizens of the United States to conduct and govern themselves accordingly and in conformity with the Constitution of the United States and the laws of Congress in such case made and provided. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and

caused the seal of the United States to be affixed this fifteenth day of September, in the year of [L. S.] our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixtythree, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

WASHINGTON NEWS AND GOSSIP. From Washington Despatches to the Northern Press.

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS TO BE RESUMED.

The statement that Government has determined to re sume exchanges with the rebels as rapidly as practicable cers of colored regiments who are in the hands of Jeff. Davis will be left to their fate, with only a vague threat of retaliation. In case of ill-treatment an equal number of rebel prisoners of the same or higher rank will be held to await their fate.

THE QUESTION OF RECOGNITION. It is learned from the best of sources that advices of an entirely trustworthy character have been received here to the effect that Chevaher's pamphlet, advocating a recognition of the rebels by France, was not inspired, as has been intimated, by the Emperor.

THE FIVE TWENTY LOAN. The Government agent for the sale of Five-Twenties reports the deposits for the past week at \$2:113,400. The delivery of bonds during the past three days is over

\$8,000,000, making nearly \$20,000,000 in all, and bringing the issue up to September 1.

LEE'S MOVEMENTS. Gen. Foster, in a telegram from Fortress Monroe, adds the weight of his observations to support the now gene rally-received opinion that a considerable portion of Gen. Lee's army has been sent part toward Charleston and part toward Chattanooga.

CONCENTRATION OF CAVALRY.

The buildings in course of erection on the Maryland shore of the Potomac river at Giesboro, nearly opposite to Alexandria, are nearly completed. Soon, therefore, the cavalry, now scattered over a surface of several miles, in that neighborhood, will be concentrated at that point, in permanent barracks. There are several thousand troops in camp already. Brig. Gen. Merritt is in command. Cavalry men and their horses are here to be drilled.

CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS.

The censorship of the press continues with its accurtomed particularity. Even matters in no manner con nected with the military operations have to undergo the perusal and receive the approval of the official supervisor. Delays in telegraphing to the press are therefore unavoidable by correspondents.

THE ANGLO-REBEL RAMS.

Minister Adams, in his latest despatches, says that he i still of the opinion that the rebel rams, against the depar ture of which the Emancipation Society has recently memorialized the English Government, will not be permitted to sail. It was expected that one would be ready in about a week from the date of Mr. Adams's letter, so that the question is likely to have been settled before this. High officials here are less confident of the determination of England to stop these piratical crafts than Minister Adams appears to be.

GEN. GILLMORE ASKS INSTRUCTIONS

It is reported that a letter has been received here from Gen. Gillmore, which states that he is now in a position to shell Charleston, but before doing so asks whether he would be justified under the law of nations in bombarding the city, so as to result in its destruction. The instructions given him in reply, it is said, fully justify the destruction of that city is the rebel military authorities refuse to surrender it.

SALES OF REAL ESTATE IN FLORIDA ANNULLED.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue has annulled certain sales of real estate in Florida made by two of the direct tax commissioners, during the absence of Mr. Stickney, the third commissioner, and otherwise irregular Some of this property was bought in by the commissioners for themselves. This decision of Mr. Lewis will probably be a source of expense to the Florida Commissioners.

THE NEW CURRENCY.

The new postage currency will soon be delivered to the public. It has been prepared with great care, and cannot, it is said, be counterfeited. The various denominations are all of the same size, but are distinguished one from the other by their respective colors. The notes are printed on good strong paper, far superior to the postage currency. Large quantities of the old currency are being daily redeemed, supplants the old, but it will be some time before the nev

POLITICS IN NEW YORK

THE PEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION

The Democratic State Union Convention of New York met a! Albany on Thursday last, and was temporarily organized by calling Judge HAND, of Essex county, to the chair-On assuming that position he made a brief address of thanks for the honor thus proffered to him, in concluding which he said:

"The duty of the Democracy in this hour of peril 1 They believe in the personal liberty of the citizen, guarantied by the Constitution, and they believe in the supremacy of the laws, North and South; but they repel with scorn, come whence it may, the insinuation that they are not loyal citizens—loyal in the fullest sense to the Constitution—and that this State, which has given so much in blood and treasure to suppress this insurrection, and the contract of the Constitution. is not a loyal State. The Democracy of the Empire Stat are for this war to maintain the Constitution and the supremacy of the laws, and to restore the Union, and for no other purpose. None other is constitutional, and they are or peace and conciliation as soon as these objects are obtained. May heaven guide our counsels for the promotion of these great purposes on this occasion

After the appointment of two temporary secretaries, the calling of the roll of delegates, and the transaction of other business of a merely formal character, the Convention took a recess till the afternoon.

On re-assembling at half-past three o'clock the Hor AMASA J. PARKER was, in accordance with a report of a ommittee, unanimously selected as President of the Conention, and a number of other gentlemen were in like manner chosen vice presidents and secretaries.

Judge PARKER, on taking the chair, briefly addressed the Convention, saying:

"I thank you, gentlemen of the Convention, for the hoor conferred upon me We have met in the spirit of patriotism, and I trust that of harmony also, as true representatives of the sentiments of the people, to consult as a the best interests of the State at this great crisis of na-We are moving towards a frightful precipice; the

rawning gulf of disunion, ruin, and perpetual border wars a before us. Without a change of national policy we are We see with regret that the letter of the President oreshadows an interminable war for other purposes than restoration of the Union. It gives no encouragement for he hope that it will return to a constitutional policy by which the Union sentiment so apparent at the South may be strengthened, or that the States will be received back with all their former rights. "Under no circumstances can we consent to disunie

To prevent it we should exert all the power of Govern ent, and use every honorable effort at conciliation, while with force we compel submission to the Constitution Now, when elated with great military successes, we should magnanimously open the avenues for reconciliation and favor their return to allegiance. If the acts of secession were void, as we hold—and on no other principle can we justify the execution of force to suppress the rebellion each Sceeding State is still in the Union, and has only to send to the National Congress its Senators and Represe atives to entitle it to full recognition. Individuals, not States, have been in rebellion.

"Indications are already apparent in several of the Scuthern States of a desire to return to the Union. Let us encourage that sentiment; let us not reject their proffered advances; let us not refuse the means of a free interchange of ideas, but let us meet them in a generous, forgiving spirit, anxious only for the restoration of the honor and glory and prosperity of the Union.

"If, indeed, the country can be saved from destruction. aborn generations, while they recount with admiration the gallant deeds of our soldiers in defence of the Constiution, and honor them as they deserve, shall also bless nose who, in a spirit of conciliation, gathered together the broken and shattered fragments of the Union and again emented them together with their love.

Among the business which followed the permanent oranization of the Convention was the reception of a comnunication from the Constitutional Union Convention (also session at Albany) to the effect that they had nominated Eli P. Norton for Attorney General and Richard F. Stevens for Inspector of State Prisons, and requesting the enforsement of these nominations by the Democratic Corvention. The communication was laid on the table, and a ommittee appointed to invite the members of the Constitutional Convention to seats in the Democratic Convention.

A committee was also appointed to wait upon Governor Seymour and invite him to address the Convention in the evening. Subsequently the committee reported that the Governor had accepted the invitation.

Mr. JAMES S. THAYER, of Rensselaer, addressed the Convention at length, and elequently, upon the political topics of the day.

A committee was appointed to wait upon the Hon. James

Brooks and invite him to address the Convention. SPEECH OF GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

evening session was occupied with the speech of Governor SEYMOUR, which we here insert as it was transmitted by telegraph from Albany to the New York city tournals :

Mr. Chairman: Three years have passed away since you and others whom I see before me to night assembled in this hall for the purpose of trying to avert the war which now afflicts the land. We saw the storm, and we then in-voked that party which had just achieved a triumph in the voked that party with us in an endeavor to prevent the ca-lamity. Our fears were derided, our prayers were macked, and we were told that we were not true to the Union. How sad has been the intervening period! How many of the young men of the country have been carried to bl rraves! How much mourning is spread over the land! What agony and distress! We met again when the war had been brought to another of its stages, and once more ve appealed to our Republican friends to join us in an effort to save the country. Then, too, our appeals were in

But I will not dwell upon the darker side of the pic Sad as has been our history some good has resulted from it; for we have learned to value our rights and to appreciate the inestimable worth of our institutions; and ose who stigmatized us as Union savers are now glad to talk about maintaining the Union and the supremacy of he Constitution. For this I am grateful; although our petitions might have been received more graciously. At Syracuse a few days sgot they resolved to uphold the Union. This I secept as a good omen. Although coupled with words harsh and unjust towards myself, most heartily do I welcome this promise on their part.

I am not without hope as to the future. The war has

night all men the high duty of maintaining the Constituon; for that, and that only, will result in establishing the nion upon a firmer basis and the rights of the States upu a settled foundation. I know that the acts of the last ongress, originating in error and baneful in their influ nces as many of them have been, alarmed the land. They ought the central zation of power. But I have never oubted the result; for those very measures are to over throw their theories of government. It will be found that the measures adopted to enlarge and centralize the powers f the General Government cannot in the end restrain the rights of the States. The States are the natural sources of the powers of the General Government, and, although put down, they will rise again

Our fathers saw that if the Government attempted the exercise of powers other and greater than those secured to it under the Constitution, it would imperil and destroy itself. Let us see if they were right. A few months ago the Government adopted measures relative to the currency o indemnity, and to confiscation, and also the conscription act, if I may be allowed to so term it. I have had no is ws, no secrets, no correspondence which I have not ubmitted most cheerfully to public scrutiny. I there exressed the opinion that when the confiscation act should e put into operation—that act which threatens the integonly of the States and trenches upon the personal rights, apposed as it is to the genius of a free Government— I en said that when they entered upon its enforcemen they would be baffled, because it was inconsistent with he nature of our Government. One year ago the people had voluntarily given one million of men and had poured forth their treasure in unexampled profusion for the prosecution of the war. Every school district, every township contributed men and means without stint, ause called upon by the Government? Rather cause prompted by the will of the people. Our Government was a med with a military power unequalled by any other nation. But forgetting that its strength depends upon the popular will, they pursued a course icconsistent with the nature of our institutions. We made the issue with them at that very time when they had at their command the argest military force on the globe, and we beat them. In those act which they supposed were calculated to strength-en them and perhaps weaken localities, they failed. One year ago our State gave one hundred and twenty

thousand men to the war, and New York city contributed nost liberally in men and money at that time. How is it now? Do men go as cheerfully now as then? No. That Government around which one million of men so cheerfully rallied now finds it necessary to use its utmost power to drag a few thousand into the field. Is this strength or weakness? Success or failure? The State of New York since the 1st of last January has raised upwards of twelve housand volunteers; which is more than twice the num ber that will ever be earried out of the State by the conscription. I don't say how many may go as substitutes, for that is equivalent to volunteering; but I venture to predict that they will never get six thousand to go because

they have been drafted under the provisions of that law. I am full of hope for the future, because I believe that a vernment that passes beyond the legitimate bounds of its power, so far from endangering permanently the rights of the States, simply endangers the rights and strength of their guns, and killing a small number,

itself, and this lesson once learned by all will result in a retura to just principles. The glory and strength of a peo-ple must be the hearts of a people. I am convinced that the Union will be preserved, and the rights of all the States maintained, because our opponents will be driven back from their assumptions by sheer necessity and sad experience. I believe that in less than one year their own ex-perience will have taught them that their theory, that the Government must be upheld by the exercise of doubtful powers, must be abandoned. There is but one way to sintain a government, and that is by upholding the laws and rights of every State and every citizen. Many harsh words and unjust charges have been indulged in by our opponents towards myself; and perhaps I owe it to you to say that I have never sought to embarass the Government. Traduced as I have been, I have seen in its many mistakes reason to uphold it, and have sought to direct it in that course which its own honor, as well as the honor of the country, clearly dictates. I have appealed, with no selfish or partisan object in view, to its friends and agents, whenever an epportunity was presented, to avoid the errors in which it has fallen. Was it unfriendly to warn it of those unfair provisions in the conscription which were so plainly alculated to render it objectionable and odious to the peo ple? Who had the most interest in the matter? interest was it that the law should be enforced in the fairest and most unobjectionable manner? Should any thing have been more grateful to them than to try to render the nforcement of this law, objectionable as it is at best, as little obnoxious as possible? When in July last I discovered some inequalities of the enrollment, I deemed it my duty to the people and the Government to call its attention a view of their correction, they surely were most interested in having it fairly carried out. Is he not their truest friend, who, when the attempt is made to enforce such a law, seeks to render it least objectionable to popular support? To this end I sent agents to Washington to represent the inequalities and unfarmess. At a later day I sent a communication to the President, appealing to To this end I sent agents to Washinghim to rave our country from the infliction of the This appeal was made as well for the sake of the Govern ment as of the people. And yet this act is stigmatized and the publication of those letters was alluded to as calculated to arouse public resistance. Why then did they publish them? I have never published any of them. I not only wrote to this effect to the President, but to the ommander of the Northeast District.

There are two other letters which have not been pub lished, (but of this I do not complain,) although they were neither official, nor private, nor confidential. I addressed a letter to Mr. Lincoln, in which I informed him that I that discovered gross frauds in the operation of the law; that, although politically opposed to his Administration, I was in this guided only by a regard for our country, and that I wished to aid in saving the country. I asked that those frauds be investigated. That was not an official let er. It commenced in a friendly tone—" Dear sir," not 'Sir;" for all of my friends are not in New York. I addressed also a friendly letter to the commander of the Northeast District, suggesting that the enrollment was most unequal and unjust, if not fraudulent. I expressed the hope that this injustice would not be allowed, because it was calculated to bring gross discredit upon us in the eyes of the world. I felt the embarrassment of his position, and therefore I wished to save him from being impel-led from military reasons on the one hand, and repelled by his repugnance to fraud on the other. Unfortunately, I only disturbed his taste as to a word, and not his sense of

fraud and wrong.
In all this I have been guided simply and solely by a de sire to save the Government from this great and fatal error. Should we for this be stigmatized as unfriendly to Union? Who will say that it is not right and just that the names of all the enrolled should be published. Is there a man opposed to having those rolls fairly and ublicly deposited in the wheel, so that all may see and know that the conscription is being fairly conducted And yet, when this is asked for, those making the request are stigmatized as inciting the community to outrage and Our purpose is not to violate the laws; our purpose is to vindicate the laws. So much for the past and

What of the future? Whatever our wrongs may have een at the hands of our opponents, I believe I speak for those who think and act with me when I say, Let the past be forgotten. Let this violation of law and of the rights f the States and of individuals be buried, if you will hear our prayers to avoid the dangers that threaten us Our armies have been successful Heretofore there have been reasons why we could not seek peace. All men bave felt that if the war had ended when we had failed in some of our military undertakings, it might lead to serious complications in the future. Thereore we have waited. But now our successes enable u to seek it with honor to ourselves and satisfac ion to the people. Our policy should be generous and magnanimous. An honorable highminded man avails himself of success to make a generous disposition of the controversy in which he is involved. This should be our course now. The war has reached another stage in its progress, and a policy dif-ferent from that which has been pursued must be marked out. Shall it be a policy of subjugation, a policy that will strip the States of all their rights? [Cries of no, no.] Such a policy implies a long and bloody war and an incal-culable waste of life and treasure. It is a policy which, if continued, must result in national bankruptcy and ruin. This would be its inevitable result.

I appeal to our Republican friends that, laying aside party passions and projudices, we superadd to power the force of conciliation. Is there not more hope for an early and lasting peace, and a long career of happiness for the country, in a conciliatory line of policy? How can any man object to a policy that will unite the people North and South, and call out from every section an ardent love of the Union and the Constitution—allove which I firmly believe only slumbers in the revolted States, and is not dead. Shall the party in power say: "Our brothers have not crouched down to us; they are not yet subjugated; we have not yet grat fied our malice and hate?" Is that as generous, as magnanimous as saying, "Retorn to the Union: your rights shall be preserved sacred and in-

Men must choose between these two lines of policy. We have differed in the past, but now our armies have triumphed, our soldiers have proved their bravery and their patriotism, they have sacrificed for the cause all t at nen ho'd dear, and now will we, who have had no share in the hardships and perils of the field, sacrifice our pride and passion, thus showing to the world a just and fraternal reard for our countrymen?

I am not disposed to criticise the President's recent letter unkindly, or to embarrass the Administration. I am willing to leave the emancipation proclamation just where he has left it-to stand valid if the courts pronounce t valid, and to fall if invalid; and it must fall invalid. I agree with him when he proposes to leave it where he knows it must die without regret. He does not in that letter contemplate an early termination of the war, nor does he propose any time when it will cease. We, however, are ready to mark out a policy, and that a con-ciliatory policy, that the States shall return with all their rights as marked down in the Constitution. I believe that he great conservative party of the country will say to them, "Return to your allegance and we will mainta your rights." Whatever may be the course of the Administration it becomes the conservatives to say to the South, "Let the war cease, come back to your allegiance and we will protect your right ...

Never have I embarrassed the Administration, and I never will. I have at all times sought to uphold the army, and have neglected no opportunity to send succor to ou men. I have toiled without ceasing to do my duty to the oldiers of New York. I have issued upwards of five thousand commissions, and I do not know that the Administra-tion, with all the unkind things its friends have said of me, has had occasion to say that my course has been partisan

in regard to them. I repeat that I am full of hope for the future. I have never doubted that the Union will be restored. I have ever feared that the rights of the States will be destroyed I have never for a moment believed that the invasion of the rights of the States by the Government could be of a permanent character. The principles of conciliation and wisdom which guided our inthers will outlive the folly of their successors. Conciliation is magnanimous. Generosity in its nature is larger than hate. A generous course now will commend us to the world. To the disso-lution of the Union I will never consent. I would put forth every power, I would exhaust every measure of concilia-tion, I would appeal to the interests, the hopes, and fears of the citizens of the South, and urge every suggestion which it becomes a man to make to bring back the re-volted States. But, as to disunion, I will never consent o that. Let us put forth every power to restore the Union, invoking every consideration of patriotism, doing all that is due to our country and to ourselves, invoking the return of every State, holding sacred every star upon those flags that surround us, and marking him who would strike one from its blue field as much a traitor as he who

At the conclusion of Governor Seymour's speech the Convention adjourned until Thursday, on which day the business of the Convention was concluded by the appointment of a State Committee, the adoption of a series of resolutions, and the nomination of the following ticket for

State officers, viz: Secretary of State D B. St. John. Comptroller - -Attorney General Sanford E. Church M. B. Champlin. State Engineer -Van R. Richmond William B. Lewis. Treasurer - - -W. W. Wright. Inspector of State Prisons D. B. McNeil. William F. Ailen Judge Court of Appears -

The attendance at the Convention was very large, and ts proceedings harmoni us. We shall publish its resolutions, in whole or in part, in our next issue, as well as those of the "Constitutional Union Convention."

A portion of the crew of the frigate Minnesota landed n small boats on the coast of North Carolina recently and had an engagement with a rabel force, capturing two of THE DIFFICULTIES IN JAPAN.

From the New York Journal of Commerce. The news from Japan will cause very general surprise We have been expecting England and France to open war with the Japanese, but we had no idea that our own ships would begin the battles. The particulars received are few but sufficiently definite to inform us that the acts of both Americans and British were retaliatory, and that it is not the Japanese Government, but only a single prince, or daimio, toward whom the hostilities are directed.

People in the western nations are very far from under standing clearly the political structure of Japan. We have made a great many mistakes already in our notions about it, and not the least in the name of the country, which is an invention of our own. The Dutch originally blundered in writing Niphon, which simply signifies "the whole empire," and out of this blunder we have constructed the word Japan, which gives us an idea of one kingdom or government. But it begins to be apparent that there is some sort of independence among the powerful princes called daimios, and that the supposed Emperor is by no means supreme. The entire history of the troubles attend-ant on the establishment of the British and other embassies n the Japanese kingdom indicates the difficulty which exists between the Emperor or Tycoon and the daimios, and the impossibility of the former affording protection against The present difficulty is said to originate in the conduct

of one of the daimios. Simonosaki is a port at the entrance of the Suonada Ses, at the extreme southwest point of Niphon. The straits mentioned in the report at the vicinity of the battles lies between this point of Ni phon and the island of Kiusiu. We cannot tell at presen whether the attack was made on the ships from the north ern or southern shore. If from the northern, then it i probable that the town which has been destroyed is this town of Si nonosaki, which lies on one principal street, stretching a mile and a half along the shore, and contains ten thousand inhabitants. The large size of the place argues against the probability of this being the town de-stroyed. It is a place having considerable trade, and exports sugar rice, iron, and oil. The dwelling houses are wooden, but there are immense warehouses built chiefly of mud, and covered with stucco said to be fireproof. There are ancient temples, and a curious old may or picture at Simonosaki, preserved in one of the temples representing a great Japanese sea fight in ancient times. This picture is the specialty of the town, and may now give place to another, representing the later engagemen of the Japanese with the outside barbarians in the neigh

The Straits of Simonosaki are important, inasmuch as a very large portion of the foreign trade of the nation passes through them. The usual route from Osaca, the great port, and from Yeddo and all the principal cities of Japan, to the westward nations, is through the sea of Suonada, and by these straits.

It is not worth our while to speculate on what is to b the result of the events of which we have received but so brief an account. It is not unlikely that they may lead to a total expulsion of all foreigners from Japan, and a consequent war in which we, as well as the European nations, will be involved. But we await further news before which it is impossible to form any definite opinion.

## GEN. GILLMORE'S ARTILLERY.

The success of Gen. Gillmore, first at the siege of Fort Pulaski and recently in the demolition of Fort Sumter has made every thing in relation to the guns he has used so effectively interesting to the public, and as there are some facts regarding the range and weight of the pieces which are not generally known, we purpose giving such of them to our readers as could not be considered contraband.

The latest victory of Gillmore-we do not say the last, for others will crown his energy and ability before the flag of our country waves over the buildings of Charleston-is perhaps the greatest triumph yet achieved by artillery ever formidable fortifications previously presumed to be impregnable to shot and shell. Placing his batteries in such position as to command and damage to some extent the works of the enemy, and then by gradual approaches to advance his guns until limited distance ensure perfection of range and certain destruction, has been the aim of Gen. Gillmore, and where the interposition of other works in terfered with a point-blank range, he has obvisted the difficully by firing over the obstructions, as in the case of Sum ter, which he bombarded over Wagner and Gregg.

Different correspondents give different stories relative to the kind of guns used on Morris Island; but as the one hundred pound Parrott is the one which they all agree has been most generally brought into requisition, we confin our remarks to that, giving the weight of its shot and shell and the distance it will carry at different elevations.

To give a proper idea, however, of the vast improve ments recently made in artillery, it may not be amiss her to give the ranges of the guns in general use until a date but shortly anterior to the beginning of the present war. The extreme average range at five degrees elevation of iron twelve pounders was 1,700 yards; of eighteen pounders, 1,750 yards; and of twenty-four pounders, 1,765 yards. elevation, carried 1,000 yards; eighteen-pounders, 1,100 yards; forty-two pounders, 1,350 yards; and sixty-eight pounders, 1,420 yards. These were the externe ranges, but of course these guns were effective for breaching purposes only at a much less distance.

The one hundred pound Parrott is usually discharged with what is known as a service charge of ten pounds of No. 7 powder, and is rarely elevated to more than thirty-five degrees. The projectiles discharged are the long shell, weighing one handred and one pounds, the solid shot weighing a little over ninety-nine pounds, and the short shell and hollow shot each weighing eighty pounds; and the length of fuse is, of course, graduated to suit th distance from the gun to the object of attack, ranging in ime of exhaustion from four and one-half seconds to thir ty-six and three-quarter seconds.

The following table will serve better than any other means of description to give the interesting facts we wish

evation.	Projectile.	Range.	Time of Flight
		Yards	Seconds.
34	Long shell		44
5		2,100	61
5	Solid shot	2,200	64
10	Long shell	3,520	13
	Solid shot		
15	Long shell	4,790	18
15	Solid shot	5 030	184
	Hollow shot		
	Long shell		
	Solid shot		
	Hollow shot		
25	Long shell	6 820	28
	Solid shot		
25	Hollow shot	7,180	294
30	Short shell	7.810	321
30	Hollow shot	7,988	321
	Hollow shot		

It will thus be seen that at an elevation of thirty five degrees a hollow shot weighing eighty pounds can be thrown from a one hundred pound Parrott 8,453 yards, or about one-fifth of a mile less than five miles, in a little over half a minute. With a charge of No. 5 powder, it is as serted, the same shot, at the same elevation, can be thrown 8,845 yards, or forty-five yards over five miles. A two hundred pound Parrott, with the service charge of sixteen pounds of powder, would prove even more effective, while the value of the three-hundred poundar, reported to have been injured before Charleston, yet remains to be tested. This is a huge gun, weighing twenty-seven thousand pounds, with a diameter of bore of ten inches, or three and pounder, and requiring a charge of twenty-five pounds.

rapid and vast have been the changes in artillery—changes which, had we the space, would be made even more asson ishing by descriptions of other kinds of artillery which have been brought into use during the war.

[Philadelphia Bulletin.

STRENGTH OF THE RUSSIAN NAVY.

A semi-official statement of the strength of the Russian navy, just published in England, shows that Russia bas been actively employed during the last five or six years in increasing her maritime force. She has now six ficets affoat, stationed in the Black Sea, the Baltic, the White Sea, the Caspian Sea, Lake Aral, and on the Amoor. The aggregate strength of this force is one hundred and twentytwo war vessels, besides a large flotida of gunboats, the exact number of which is not known, and thirty-two new gunboats which Admiral Glasenapp is busily engaged in completing in the Government navy yards. In all, Russia has or soon will have a fleet of at least one hundred and fifty heavily armed vessels-of-war, and we recently had advices from England of the hurried departure of a fleet of iron-clads which have been constructed for her in Bri tish ship-yards. The number of guns carried by the vessels now attached to her fleets in service is about four hundred and fifty. The new frigates, iron-clads, and gunboats will probably increase the number of guns to

A correspondent of the London Times calls attention to the fact that the Russian fleet now in the Black Sea consists of forty-two war vessels and transports, whereas by the treaty of 1856, between Russia and the Porte, it was stipulated that the number should not exceed six steamers and four other light sailing vessels. It appears from offi-cial data that the greater part of the Russian fleet now in cial data that the greater part of the Russian fleet now in the Black Sea was built after the peace, and that only eight of the whole number are part of the squadron which, at the beginning of the siege of Schastopol, was sunk at the entrance of that port in order to prevent the approach of the silied fleets. Most of the vessels of the Baltic fleet have been built since 1857. The fleet on the Amoor con-sists of six armed sloops, seven armed schooners, and eleven transports.—New York Evening Post.

## WASHINGTON.

LIBERTY AND UNION, NOW AND FOREVER, ONE AND

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1863.

THE PRESIDENT'S LATE LETTER.

Simultaneously with the appearance of the President's Letter addressed to the political Convention assembled at Springfield, Illinois, we briefly adverted to its views in connexion with a topic of great public interest upon which we had hoped it would hold an explicit language and shed a clear light. Disappointed in this hope as regards that question of current discussion between the friends and the enemies of the Constitution, we engaged at our leisure to examine with care the exposition which the President had deemed it proper to offer to the country on some other subjects, and to submit to our readers any thoughts which a subsequent perusal of his letter might suggest.

In proceeding to execute this purpose to-day we shall practise the greatest possible brevity, confining our observations to the political and explanatory portion of the paper, in which the President seeks to answer certain objections commonly brought gainst his policy.

Assuming that there are those who are dissatisfied with him he addresses himself directly to them and savs:

"You desire peace, and you blame me that we do not have it; but how can we attain it? There are but three conceivable ways: First, to suppress rebellion by force of arms. This I am trying to do. Are you for it? If you are, so far we are agreed. If you are not for it, a second way is to give up the Union. I am against this. Are you for it? If you are, you should say so plainly. If you are not for force, nor yet for dissolution, there only remains

We respectfully submit that in stating the con-

ditions of this problem the President has omitted some of its elements. He has not exhausted the categories of the question. Many who assign to native policy of "giving up the Union" or of promilitary conduct which tends to separate wise policy from vigorous war, or which renders vigorous war futile and purposeless by stripping even victories of their power to subdue or to pacificate. Physical force is directed, and properly directed, to the defeat and dispersion of the insurgent armies, but all force exercised in other directions, whether plied to the intensification of hatred and the accumulation of resistance against the National Government. No one has recognised more clearly than the President the impolicy of relying on arms alone as a means of consolidating that peace and union which furnish the only rational and legitimate, as they are the only Christian, end of our military operations. In his last annual message the President warmly and elaborately recommended the plan of "compensated emancipation" as a means auxiliary to the restoration and maintenance of the national authority throughout the Union, and urged it expressly on the ground that not in exclusion of, but in addition to others, than "to rely on force alone." To this effect he said:

"This plan is recommended as a means, not in exclusion of but additional to, all others for restoring and preserving the national authority throughout the Union. The s presented exclusively in its economical aspect. The olan wou'd, I am confident, secure peace more speedily and maintain it more permanently than can be done by force alone; while all it would cost, considering amounts, and manner of payment, and times of payment, would be easier paid than will be the additional cost of the war, if we rely solely upon force. It is much-very much-that it would cost no blood at all."

It is known to our readers that the last Congress, comprising in both Houses a large majority of the President's political friends, refused to effectuate his policy under this head, but the carnest | the authority and Government of the United States, manner in which the President urged it, in the name of "not relying on force alone," still serves to indicate that his analysis is not exhaustive or comprehensive enough to embrace his own deliberately announced views when, in his late letter, he says "there are but three conceivable ways to obtain peace" There is also a fourth, and, as we think, not only a more excellent way, but the only auxiliary to his operations the slaves whom he acpossible way-and that is, to conduct the war against armed insurgents alone, and to leave the widest possible space for the full play and development of a beneficent policy which shall seek to consolidate by prudence what has been gained by arms. The malignant theory which embraces in the field of its vision nothing better than force, and which, with mingled bluster and impotence. looks to the "extermination of the Southern people" and the extirpation of slavery, not as incidents but as motives and objects of the war, is a theory which not only puts arms of keener edge and longer range into the hands of the insurgents, but keeps them there; for what have they to gain by peaceful submission when, at the worst, persistence in war promises them the consolation of vindicating their claim to valor, which is all that the malignant theory leaves to the Southern people? We need not say that we have no part nor lot in any such theory of war, as we know the President has none. But his failure to embrace in his enumeration of the ways in which we may attain peace, the one that makes a wise and beneficent political the argument of the President-we have only to policy coincident and concurrent with the application of force, must be our spology for recalling the

President's former declarations in favor of the latter. We shall sustain no other policy, for we have The residue of the President's letter, as far as

concerns the political questions in issue before the people, mainly relates to the so-called "proclamation of freedom." And here again, as we humbly conceive, he assumes more than is necessary to a defence of his own position when he says that "those who are dissatisfied with him about the negro" do not wish that all men could be free. To this effect he says :

"But, to be plain, you are dissatisfied with me about the negro. Quite likely there is a difference of opinion between you and myself upon that sutject. I certainly wish that all men could be free, while I suppose you do not; yet I have neither adopted nor proposed any measure

which is not consistent with even your view, provided you are for the Union."

We certainly "wish that all men could be free" just as sincerely as we wish that all men might be made "free indeed," by partaking of the spirit of Him who came into the world "to seek and to save that which was lost." But we would not wish to wage war for the purpose of making men Christians; and just as little, in a war for the Constitution and the Union-a war which is lawful and right only so far as it is a war for the Constitution and the Union-are we willing to bring upon ourselves the guilt of murder by waging war for what, as we conceive both our political and our moral duty, we have no right to wage war-the emancipation of slaves. All admit that it would not have been justifiable for the Northern States to commence a war on the Southern States for the purpose of abolishing slavery in them. It would have been nothing less than organized murder to commence such a war-as John Brown did commence it and suffered a murderer's punishment. By what reasoning, then, does it become less than murder to divert a war commenced for other purposes to that object? How can it be any less criminal to prolong a war commenced for the assertion of the just authority of the Government into a war for the suppression of slavery, which it is agreed would have been unjustifiable and sinful if begun for that purpose? As is well said by one of our contemporaries, than which, we may add, no other journal more heartily sustains "the war for the

"If there were a possibility of peace and the restoration of the power of the Government, and, instead of making peace, men should say, 'No, we will have no peace till we have destroyed slavery,' and should continue the war, the men thus doing would be precisely as guilty as if they had commenced a war for that purpose only."

This war is just only so far as it is a defensive war. All wars are just only so far as they are defensive, for precisely at the point where they cease to be defensive they become aggressive, and, as such, are equally opposed to morals and to christianity. No one sees this more clearly than the Pre-'force of arms' its proper place in quelling the sident, and hence the carefulness with which he rebellion are not willing that pure and simple has uniformly declared that, so far as concerns his force shall be the only expedient on which they | theory of action, he does or omits to do whatever must rely to protect them from adopting the alter- he does or omits to do with regard to the negro because he believes it "helps the Union." He may posing terms of compromise to the armed insur- be mistaken in the means adapted to reach the gents. There are conservative and loyal men end he has in view, but he has never suffered the who protest against any theory of political and end to be left out of his sight. Would that all his professed political friends had been, or now were. equally single in their aim! Instead of this, we find some of them perverting his means into ends. and seeking to transform his temporary military expedients into lines of enduring political policy.

And this brings us to consider the President's observations on his "Proclamation of Freedom." aimed at the people or the domestic institutions of It is worthy of particular remark that the Presithe Southern States, is just so much of power ap- | dent has not a word to say in defence of this declaration as a principle. He treats it throughout as simply an administrative expedient. This will clearly appear from the terms he employs in describing its operation and effect. He says:

"You dislike the emancipation proclamation, and perhaps you would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional. I think differently. I think the Constitution invests its commander-in-chief with the law of war in time of war. The most that can be said, if so much, is that time of war. Ine most that can be said, if so much, is that slaves are property. Is there, has there ever been any question that by the law of war property both of enemies and friends may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever taking it helps us or hurts the enemy? Armies, the world over, destroy enemies' property when they can-not use it, and even destroy their own to keep it from the Inion, and urged it expressly on the ground that was better to adopt some such measure of policy, male and female. But the proclamation, as law, either is valid or is not valid. If it is not valid it needs no retraction. If it is valid it cannot be retracted any more than the dead can be brought to life.'

Here it will be seen that the President defends the proclamation, not as a theoretical measure, but as something identical with the practical use of slave property for military purposes. Our readers know that if the proclamation means no more than this, it has no objections to encounter from us, and it is noteworthy that the argument of the President extends no farther than this in justification of the edict. We have never denied that the President, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, may, in time of armed rebellion against and while conducting war on slaveholding territory, rightfully liberate slaves, so far as may be necessary to the success of his military operations. And the measure of his power in this direction may be admitted to be commensurate with the military necessity under which he acts, and with the extent to which he can practically employ in services tually liberates.

But it is denied by many (and we are of their number) that the Executive department of the Government has the right to "order and declare" that slaves now held to service by virtue of certain State laws shall, on a day fixed, be "then, thenceforward, and forever free." For this style of language proceeds on the assumption that the Executive branch of the Government is, because of the enlarged powers conferred upon it in the name of "military necessity," or "laws of war," endowed with legitimate authority to repeal or suspend the laws of certain States as respects slavery. It implies that the President has a paramount de jure control over the law of slavery, insomuch that he could retain that law in its validity and in its obligation on the slave from the 22d of September. 1862, (the date of his preliminary proclamation,) to the 1st of January, 1863, and unbind its sanctions forever after the latter date.

Oa the whole subject of the proclamation, considered in its legal aspect—an aspect untouched by repeat what we said on the 3d of January last, immediately after the appearance of the final edict of January 1st :

"As we understand the matter, there is a great differ. ence between the assumption of this prerogative right, which is legislative in its nature, and the emancipation of slaves as the necessary incident of actual military opera-tions, or as the consequence of legal conviction for treason. It is, as we have already said, to enact a political solecism for the "Executive Government" to declare slaves legally free where the President has and can have no legal jurisdiction over the law of slavery. It is to carry into one

detailed over the law of slavery. It is to carry into one department the style and language belonging exclusively to another sphere of political ideas.

"A single citation from the recent annual message of the President will serve to show the incongruity as well as mefficiency of this 'war messure.' In that message, arguing in tavor of his project for emancipation with compensation to owners, Mr. Lincoln said:

ensation to owners, Mr. Lincoln said. perty—property acquired by descent or by purchase, same as any other property.'

"It will hardly be pretended that any mere words of the President, however solemnly uttered, can avail to do